/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 847 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

643 Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to
[477] suffocate undesirable newborn infants.
[847]
Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to
301 highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally.
556 It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones
428 for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging
433 in direct activities for subsistence.

436 Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented
437 to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

576 Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass
224 it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable
425 furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

784 Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and
324 ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent
[562] for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed
to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish
[778] it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

827 Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

411 War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which
824 broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3
237 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

648 The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

846 Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2
785 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child
[264] fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on
[826] their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

/119 cont./

562 sexes. With respect to this, one must observe which sex is preferred and why preferred. Many times the fathers prefer the births of males and the mothers those of females; at other times, however, the opposite happens. The births of males might be preferred because of their being more esteemed than the females or because an excess of males makes the value of the [171] females rise. Félix de Azara (Descripción e Historia del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata, 1847, t. I, p. 202) reports that the Guaikurú/Guaicuru/ and the Guaná killed the majority of their newborn daughters so that the few who were left alive would be desired more by the men, and, therefore, happier. /120/ a custom which, it is supposed, drove the men [113] to steal women from other tribes (v. also: Julio Koslowsky: "Algunos datos sobre los Indios Bororós /Some data on the Bororo Indians/, Revista del Museo de La Plata, VI, La Plata, 1895).

Among the Bororo there is no rule for this preference, which depends each time on the common desire of both parents. Thus an equality of the sexes is shown in the matter.

562 It has been maintained that, infanticide being customary
121 for a people under the domination of a certain sex, -- be it
• 847 male or female, -- the children of the dominant sex would always be spared (M. Vaerting: Neubegründung der Psychologie von Mann und Weib, I, Die weibliche Eigenart im Männerstaat und die männliche Eigenart in Frauenstaat, /New Argument of the Psychology of Man and Woman, I, The female individuality in the men's state and the male individuality in the women's state/, Karlsruhe, 1921, p. 86). Examples of the so-called Amazon states of Africa were cited. Even if these examples merited confidence, they do not authorize such generalizations. One must consider that the predominant sex might be inclined to keep its own number smaller than that of the dominated sex, not only because such a numerical

/120 cont./

562 disproportion would raise its own value, but also because
121 sexuality might make the individual more tolerant towards
847 the other sex than toward its own. However that may be:
the custom of killing the children of a certain sex can only clarify the position of the sexes if the causes are known.

562 In South America infanticide is, first of all, a custom
847 of nomadic tribes and in general concerns /121/ both sexes
[171] in the same way. Ordinarily the causes are economic ones:
the mother among nomadic people cannot let a child live every year, without creating, thanks to this, a disastrous impediment to the proper feeding of another one born earlier.

847 Among the Bororo these causes are disguised by the belief that
787 establishes a connection between the child expected and not yet born and the bad dreams of one of the relatives, and especially of the future mother herself. If, for example, the women shortly before the delivery sees any misfortune in a dream, be it dead persons, wounds, snake bites, epidemics, floods, fires, etc., the expected child is considered the cause of the disaster and will be sacrificed immediately after birth. This is demanded by the community of the tribe, which does not want to admit anything that might harm its
847 existence. In general the parents do not personally kill the newborn child; they hand it over to the relatives for this
[562] purpose. In any case, infanticide among the Bororo does not reveal a sex preference.

[121] Whether the limitation of deliveries among a people is in relation to the position of the sexes is a question that can only be resolved by means of an examination of a concrete
842 case. The Bororo told me that anciently they prepared with
757 the leaves of an herb a decoction that would sterilize the women forever. They said that only two old men knew this
[113] remedy. P. Antonio Colbacchini (A tribu dos Borôros, Rio de Janeiro, 1919, pp. 58 and 59) writes the following: "They

/121 cont./

842 757 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocua-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of [177] Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the [79] influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. A y after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from
[411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is [illegible]t I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat,
[844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the
[515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip
[304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
● [847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
[301 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
302] ear pendants to let the young men know that she has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[P. 110(1)]